

AMOR Y RABIA

UNA PUBLICACION MENSUAL
ANARQUISTA REVOLUCIONARIA

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EDICION RESUMIDA

REBELIÓN:

la opción de la nueva generación

ANARQUÍA! ES PROBAB-
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y el gobierno para describir lo que
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Este antagonismo fué explotado por la
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Pero, esto a su vez afectó en su contexto
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ANARQUÍA! ES PROBABLEMENTE el término más usado por los medios de comunicación y el gobierno para describir lo que sucedió en Los Angeles y alrededor del mundo en respuesta a veredicto del caso Rodney King. La prensa ordinaria pretendió difamar a las personas que tomaron las calles y al anarquismo.

Mientras que el anarquismo no se logró en Los Angeles (ni en ninguna otra parte) algo importante se alcanzó, con limitaciones y con muchas cosas negativas, se dieron pasos de avance hacia el anarquismo. Lo más importante en docenas de ciudades, en diferentes áreas y por espacios de tiempo, el estado perdió su poder: la policía tuvo que correr para salvar sus vidas y el pueblo tomó el control de las calles y un poco del control de sus vidas.

Otra de las difamaciones fué tratar de igualar al anarquismo con la abolición (temporal) de las comodidades - tratando de confundir las necesidades humanas con las necesidades de compra y la mentalidad ordinaria del consumismo de productos (acompañado de su publicidad constante y sus altos precios). Con solo impulsar un bate (o lanzar un ladrillo), así, como por arte de magia, todo lo bueno se puede obtener gratuitamente y al alcance de todos, de acuerdo a sus necesidades y deseos sin la necesidad de tener que vender tu precioso tiempo y tus habilidades a ningún patrón.

Los anarquistas no solo debemos apoyar esto, sino que debe más celebrarse que se alcancen sin sentido - hubo muchos problemas, y vendrán más, de los cuales muchos son lecciones negativas que tenemos que aprender. Frente a los ataques de la "izquierda" y de la derecha sobre la "violencia sin sentido = anarquismo", nosotros sostenemos que la (realmente conciente y liberadora) violencia es un paso adelante hacia el anarquismo.

LA NUEVA SOCIEDAD DENTRO DEL CASCO DE LA VIEJA

No somos tan inocentes como para creer que ocurrirá nada desagradable

una frente a la otra en la batalla por la supervivencia. La paliza de Rodney King fué solo un incidente que llevó a la comunidad negra de Los Angeles a la revuelta. Quizás, de igual importancia fué el incidente que se produjo, cuando un dueño de tienda coreano disparara por la espalda a la Tasha Harlins de solo 14 años de edad, saliendo con probatoria y prestación de servicios comunitarios. Este antagonismo fué explotado por la policía, quienes facilitaron los ataques a las tiendas coreanas al arrestar a los dueños de tiendas coreanas que trataban de defender armados sus negocios al igual que los propietarios blancos.

Desde luego, estos ejemplos utilizados por la prensa, son actos de violencia sin sentido; pero por otra parte la mayoría de los reportes, no dados a

ción y trabajos; tienen una extremadamente alta probabilidad de ser encarcelados. Un hombre negro entre la edad de 20 y 29 años, uno de cada cuatro va a la cárcel o es puesto bajo probatoria. La pobreza y la ausencia de oportunidades encaminan a los jóvenes hacia las bandas, las drogas y el crimen anti-social. En la ciudad de Los Angeles se estima que más de 150,000 jóvenes están envueltos en unas 1,000 bandas. La mitad de los jóvenes negros e hispanos del centrosur de Los Angeles están envueltos en bandas. En el centro de Los Angeles la mitad de las familias negras viven por debajo de los niveles de pobreza y el desempleo juvenil sobrepasa el 50%.

También en Los Angeles existe un generalizado sentido de que los líderes

podemos ayudar a responder más efectivamente cuando estos acontecimientos de ese periódico, podemos ver como el movimiento falló al aprovechar las crisis que empujaron al sistema en diferentes direcciones.

Una de las grandes diferencias entre la rebelión de Watts y la reciente revuelta en Los Angeles es el contexto político en el que los dos eventos tuvieron lugar. Watts fué de muchas maneras una expresión del fracaso del movimiento por los derechos civiles en el sur, para hablar de los problemas económicos enfrentamientos por las comunidades urbanas negras del norte. Pero, esto a su vez afectó en su contexto a aquel movimiento. Hubo secciones del movimiento por los derechos civiles que fueron capaces de incrementar la lucha y de organizar un movimiento de liberación negro más militante y revolucionario. Cuando los fundadores del Partido Panteras Negras de Oakland tomaron como símbolo la Pantera Negra de la Organización de Liberación del Condado Lowndes - con base en Mississippi fué una forma de expresar la continuidad que existió con la primer fase sureña del movimiento por los derechos civiles.

En 1965 había poca clase media negra. Una de las consecuencias de las revueltas urbanas de las sesentas fué la creación de una clase media negra más grande para servir como amor tiguador para hacer permanecer al sistema supremacista blanco. Durante la reciente rebelión, ésta clase media Negra también fué blanco de los ataques de la gente. En 1992 no existe un movimiento en la comunidad Negra que se compare a él movimiento por los derechos civiles de los sesentas. Esto no significa que la gente no creara tal movimiento. Sino, que un nuevo movimiento está destinado a reflejar más profundamente un rechazo a las políticas liberales integristas del tradicional movimiento por los derechos civiles. El tema de la autodeterminación Negra está destinado a tomar un lugar prominente junto a las demandas tradicionales por los dere-



conocer, hacían obvio que la ira también, desembocó en acción directa: coches de

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LA NUEVA SOCIEDAD DENTRO DEL CASCO DE LA VIEJA

No somos tan inocentes como para creer que ocurrió nada desagradable, brutal o mal en Los Angeles. La rebelión de Los Angeles sugirió la posibilidad de una nueva sociedad; pero esto también nos demostró que muchas de las personas que podrían construir una nueva sociedad cargan consigo muchos de los valores de la vieja. Esto fué fuerte utilizado por la prensa, hubo un significativo racismo en el extenso saqueo a los pequeños negocios de dueños coreanos. Las tiendas coreanas fueron blanco de saqueo. A esto contribuyen muchos factores que mantienen lo enemistad entre las comunidades negra y coreana. Los afroamericanos que viven en Los Angeles constituyen una minoría dentro de las minorías. Las comunidades hispanas y asiáticas han crecido rápidamente y muchas afroamericanos sienten que ellos han sido desplazados. Las comunidades asiáticas, hispana y negra están

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conocer, hacían obvio que la ira también, desembocó en acción directa: coches de policía, estaciones, comisarias y los propios policías fueron el blanco de estos ataques, al igual que todas las oficinas del gobierno, bancos, graúeles cadenas de tiendas y armerías.

CAUSES DE LA REBELLION

La rebelión fué virtuosa a pesar de algunas cosas desagradables. Gente de diferentes procedencias participaron en la acción, los afroamericanos pobres encabezaron la revuelta por que ellos no tienen nada que perder.

Muchos afroamericanos enfrentan desempleo, bajos salarios o trabajos temporales. La mayoría de ellos son incapaces de satisfacer las necesidades básicas de vida: vivienda digna, atención médica y comida. El pueblo negro encara la discriminación al intentar obtener educa-

comunitarios y políticos negros traicionan a la comunidad. Esto contribuyó a crear las tensiones antes del veredicto, por ejemplo las reservas entre entre el Jefe de la Policía Darryl Gates y el Alcalde Tom Bradley.

EL IMPERIO DEVUELVE EL GOLPE

La elite gobernante de los Estados Unidos casi inmediatamente devolvieron el golpe. La invasión de Los Angeles, primero por la Guardia Nacional y después por las tropas federales reflejaron que la represión no había sido solo para eliminar sus tensiones internas.

No es improbable, que en los próximos años veamos más sublevaciones e igualmente el desarrollo de organizaciones populares revolucionarios negros. Existen muchas diferencias entre la actual situación y la de los años sesentas, pero conociendo lo que sucedió entonces,

movimiento por los derechos civiles que fueron capaces de incrementar la lucha y de organizar un movimiento de liberación negro más militante y revolucionario. Cuando los fundadores del Partido Panteras Negras de Oakland tomaron como simbolo la Pantera Negra de la Organización de Liberación del Condado Lowndes con base en Mississippi fué una forma de expresar la continuidad que existió con la primer fase sureña del movimiento por los derechos civiles.

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PODER NEGRO Y LUCHA DE CLASES

La revuelta que estremeció a Los Angeles tuvo ambas características, racial y de clases. Chicanos, Blancos, y otros participaron en lo que no fue solamente una sublevación negra. Es importante tener

(Continúa en la página 2)

Revuelta...

(Viene de la portada)

esto encuentra, para ver como el espíritu de la revuelta que surgió en la comunidad afro-americana se pudo extender hacia el resto de la clase trabajadora y a otros oprimidos, esto también es importante para reconocer que la revuelta de Los Angeles demostró claramente: la necesidad de centrarse en la lucha de liberación Negra para cualquier maximismo revolucionario en los Estados Unidos.

Muchos de los blancos norteamericanos, cuando encararon las luchas de los afroamericanos, no estaban preparados para lidiar con ellas por su propio racismo. Las comunidades trabajadores blancas, aún las más pobres, carentes de antecedentes históricos de revueltas, de una cultura de resistencia, y de un sentido común antagonista con la policía, que caracteriza a las comunidades afroamericanas.

Mientras que la mayoría de la clase trabajadora blanca nunca escapará de su posición, las posibilidades de permanecer igual de la mayoría del pueblo afroamericano es mil veces mayor. Los blancos más pobres, pueden imaginarse así mismo propietarios algún día de una pequeña tienda, bajo el sistema existente, mientras que este sentimiento esta menos extendido en las comunidades negras. La popularidad de las canciones de rap anti-policías entre la juventud negra no tiene paralelo en la juventud blanca.

Millones de personas, que viven vidas muy diferentes a la pueblo del centro sur de Los Angelesse conmovieron ante la escena de la revuelta. Este instinto hacia la solidaridad es lo que se necesita transformar en un movimiento revolucionario amplio. Todo tipo de personas a través de los E.U. (y alrededor del mundo) respondieron a la revuelta. Este sentido de solidaridad refleja el potencial en muchos de los sectores de la sociedad para la sublevación. Esto también indica

restadas sin cargos, de 24 horas a una semana completa. Más de 14,000 personas fueron arrestadas en Los Angeles, 2,000 indocumentados fueron deportadas como "ilegales" por encima de 2000 personas fueron arrestadas en el área de la bahía de San Francisco en protestas pacíficas. La guardia Nacional fue movilizada, también en Las Vegas. La respuesta militar y policiaca a la revuelta fue efectuada con la efectiva complicidad de la televisión para un control social. Al comienzo los noticieros de televisión, transmitieron ansiosos tomas desde helicópteros el inicio de la revuelta. Pero, como evidentemente la sublevación de Los Angeles no era un motín ordinario, sino la mayor expresión de inconformidad doméstica desde la Guerra Civil, la cobertura televisiva cambió inmediatamente sus transmisiones directas por noticias editadas. La generalización de la inconformidad en cada esquina del país no podía negarse, por lo que fueron reducidas las informaciones a cortas capsulas sin muchos datos de la magnitud de la protesta; alternados con comentarios "socialmente aceptados" de expresiones de inconformidad. A cada hora se nos aseguraba que la calma había regresado y que la Ley y el Orden habían sido reestablecidas. Cada esfuerzo fue hecho para desalentar la militancia del momento.

LA GUERRA EN CASA

Hubo una tremenda cantidad de furia expresada a través del país, revelando la profundidad de la crisis en nuestra sociedad. Lo que paso en Los Angeles en una semana; fué una versión intensificada de lo que esta susediendo a todo lo largo del país. Cuando el pueblo es esclavizado, enjaulado, apaleado y se le niegan las necesidades basicas de vida, estos reaccionan de diferentes maneras. Algunos buscan la venganza, otros tratan de llenar sus necesidades y algunos matan. Diez mil negocios destruidos, cincuenta y ocho muertos, aproximadamente 10 mil arrestados y un billon de dolares en daños. El creciente fascismo en Estados Unidos ha intensifi-

cazmente aplastado por el Estado mediante dos vías: la cooptación liberal, con promesas de nuevos programas sociales y la cabal reacción racista.

LA REBELION EXPONTANEA Y LA PREPARACIÓN DE LA REVOLUCION.

La necesidad de tal preparación no debe ser confundida con la aceptación de ningún auto-proclamado líder que pretende conocer que es lo mejor para el pueblo.. Quizas lo más positivo de todo esto, fue la evidente coóperatividad entre una amplia, diversa y multiracial multitud tomando el control de si mismo por una vez; este fue solo por un breve espacio y esta muy lejos de ser capaz de lograrse, pero aún es inspirador.

Todo esto, nos fuerza a preguntarnos: que tremendos cambios se necesitan para realmente empezar a lograr el anarquismo y como los anarquistas podemos acelerarlos? El pueblo de el sur centro de Los Angeles fue capaz de realizar asombrosas hazañas con muy poca organización formal. Contrariamente a las mentiras sobre la auto agresión a sus comunidades, el pueblo invadió Hollywood y Beverly Hills, impresionando a los ricos que han hecho sus vidas miserables de una manera nunca antes vista en las sublevaciones anteriores. Pero, en el nivel más elemental su momento paso, porque los policías-con la ayuda de más de 10 mil policías del Estado, los Marines la Guardia Nacional- fueron capaces de recuperar el control de las calles. Al menos, han germinado algunos semillas de verdadera colectividad, organizaciones no jerárquicas a un nivel de democracia directa para oponerse concientemente a los métodos autoritarios, esto salio a flote particularmente en esta situación militar.

El hecho de los saqueros debe verse solo como pequeño lapsus de tiempo que viabilizo la solución de las necesidades de provisiones. Muy pronto los inventarios seran hechos y se sustiran nuevamente los comercios y tiendas declarando perdidos que seran retribuidas por los companias de seguro. Si la domi-

Amor y Rabia es realizado por la Red Amor y Rabia, un grupo de personas comprometidas, las cuales estan de acuerdo en una linea general con la Declaración Política de Amor y Rabia y contribuyen con su tiempo, dinero y energia para que Amor y Rabia sea una realidad. Las principales decisiones y la política general se determinan cuando la red se reúne en conferencia, una vez al año aproximadamente. Las decisiones interinas, menos importantes (de acuerdo con las decisiones de la Conferencia) las toma el Consejo de la Red, integrado por personas de diferentes regiones que se reúnen varias veces al año. Cualquier grupo verdaderamente interesado en el proyecto puede mandar dos delegados a las reuniones del Consejo de la Red. Las decisiones que requieren acción inmediata (de acuerdo con las decisiones de la Conferencia y el Consejo de la Red) las toma el Grupo de Coordinación electo, que consulta con el Grupo de Producción (GP) por teléfono y por correo. Diariamente las decisiones son hechas por el GP, residente en la ciudad de Nueva York, donde se publica el periódico. En algunas ciudades y regiones, simpatizantes de Amor y Rabia se organizan para cooperar en el apoyo al periódico a nivel local y a veces participan en la Red a través de su grupo o colectivo. Otros simpatizantes militan solos.

La mayoría de de los colaboradores/as de Amor y Rabia están activos en esfuerzos por cambiar el mundo, además de publicar Amor y Rabia. Los simpatizantes están involucrados en un amplio rango de grupos locales, en varios tipos de publicaciones, en redes que atienden asuntos específicos y en organizaciones que militan local e internacionalmente y frecuentemente escriben sobre sus actividades en Amor y Rabia. La Red Amor y Rabia no es un círculo cerrado de amigos, si estás de acuerdo en línea general con la Declaración Política y estas dispuesto a comprometer tu tiempo, energía o dinero en nuestro esfuerzo común, puedes convertirte en parte de la Red y participar ampliamente en el proceso de tomar las decisiones. Pide más información a la persona que te vendió u obsequió el periódico, o escribe a:

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Audrey, Minneapolis, MN
Brian, Burlington, VT
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Gene, Dena, Dan*, Jessica, Jane, Chris*,
Christopher, Chris*, Bob, Matt, Polina, Kelly

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La revuelta de los Los Angeles, será probablemente lo que empuje hacia el desarrollo de una fuerza revolucionaria dentro de la comunidad afroamericana; estas fuerzas pueden permanecer relativamente débiles o quizás crezcan dramáticamente, de cualquier manera estas necesitaran apoyo. Seguramente se convertiran en el blanco directo de la represión estatal. Si somos realmente serios en la intención de construir un movimiento revolucionario amplio y multiracial, ahora es el momento de proveer apoyo concreto a los revolucionarios negros. Al mismo tiempo, necesitamos construir este sentido de solidaridad con la revuelta que fué expresado en otras comunidades. Existe una lucha que pasa ahora por las conciencias de la

a ciertos capos de la policía, alternados con comentarios "socialmente aceptados" de expresiones de inconformidad. A cada hora se nos aseguraba que la calma habia regresado y que la Ley y el Orden habian sido reestablecidas. Cada esfuerzo fue hecho para desalentar la militancia del momento.

LA GUERRA EN CASA

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El pueblo Negro ha venido luchando contra un sistema tan profundamente racista que solamente puede ser entendido como una forma de colonialismo domestico. Traidos a estas tierras como esclavos, los Negros han permanecido como una comunidad económicamente subordinada a una elite económica blanca, como una colonia bajo la ocupación de su metrópolis. Forzador a vivir en ghettos o dispersos en "proyectos habitacionales", la comunidad Afroamericana esta sujeta a prácticas policiales y judiciales muy cercanas a una ocupación militar colonial.

La revuelta de Los Angeles necesita ser entendida historicamente. Es necesario observarla como la continuación de la lucha. Esto también necesita verse como una salida seria de los términos previos de lo que esta lucha significa. Un buen punto de partida para poder entender lo que sucedió en Los Angeles en 1992 es recordando la rebelión de Watts de 1965.

¿QUE PASO EN WATTS?

En el verano de 1965, el area de Watts

poca organización formal. Contrariamente a las mentiras sobre la auto agresión a sus comunidades, el pueblo invadió Hollywood y Beverly Hills, impresionando a los ricos que han hecho sus vidas miserables de una manera nunca antes vista en las sublevaciones anteriores. Pero, en el nivel más elemental su momento paso, porque los policías-con la ayuda de más de 10 mil policías del Estado, los Marines la Guardia Nacional- fueron capaces de recuperar el control de las calles. Al memos, han germinado algunos semillas de verdadera colectividad, organizaciones no jerarquicas a un nivel de democracia directa para oponerse concientemente a los métodos autoritarios, esto salio a flote particularmente en esta situación militar.

El hecho de los saqueros debe verse solo como pequeño lapsus de tiempo que viavilizo la solución de las necesidades de provisiones. Muy pronto los inventarios seran hechos y se sustiran nuevamente los comercios y tiendas declarando perdidos que seran retribuidas por los companias de seguro. Si la dominación se terminera, todo debe ser organizado directa, democratica y colectivamente por todos aquellos que esten involucrados en el que hacer. Seguramente, no poderemos hacer las mismas cosas de la misma manera, no se puede hacer lo mismo en todos los lugares, ni individuos que participan en la lucha alvededor del mundo-tenemos que re-examinar y re-hacerlo todo.

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organizaciones que militan local e internacionalmente y frecuentemente escriben sobre sus actividades en Amor y Rabia. La Red Amor y Rabia no es un círculo cerrado de amigos, si estás de acuerdo en linea general con la Declaración Política y estas dispuesto a comprometer tu tiempo, energía o dinero en nuestro esfuerzo común, puedes convertirte en parte de la Red y participar ampliamente en el proceso de tomar las decisiones. Pide más información a la persona que te vendió u obsequió el periódico, o escribe a:

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New York, NY 10012
(212) 925 7966

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Traductores:

Alvaro*, Gustavo, Nina*, Eugenio, Ana

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Aviso Aburrido

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Subscríbete a Amor y Rabia

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la importancia de la comunidad negra, ya que ninguna otra comunidad ha demostrado el poder de inspirar una revuelta. Queremos construir un movimiento que incluya todos los sectores de la clase trabajadora y a todos los oprimidos bajo este sistema. Construir y apoyar al movimiento de liberación negra es una prioridad dentro de la decisión estratégica basada en el entendimiento de que el movimiento de liberación Negra es el único potencial para inspirar una acción revolucionaria dentro de esta sociedad.

La revuelta de los Los Angeles, será probablemente lo que empuje hacia el desarrollo de una fuerza revolucionaria dentro de la comunidad afroamericana; estas fuerzas pueden permanecer relativamente débiles o quizás crezcan dramáticamente, de cualquier manera estas necesitan apoyo. Seguramente se convertiran en el blanco directo de la represión estatal. Si somos realmente serios en la intención de construir un movimiento revolucionario amplio y multiracial, ahora es el momento de proveer apoyo concreto a los revolucionarios negros. Al mismo tiempo, necesitamos construir este sentido de solidaridad con la revuelta que fué expresado en otras comunidades. Existe una lucha que pasa ahora por las conciencias de la Norteamérica blanca. Por un momento, millones de blancos vieron claramente en el veredicto de Rodney King la brutal injusticia de la experiencia cotidiana del pueblo afroamericano en E.U. El noticiero de la cadena A.B.C. reportó que el 39% de los norteamericanos blancos creen que el gobierno "solo responde a los negros quando ellos recurren a la violencia". Muchos vieron en la revuelta una expresión de enojo justificada y muchos salieron a las calles a manifestar su inconformidad.

Esta expresión momentánea de solidaridad asustó terriblemente al poder quien esta trabajando arduamente para erradicar todo vestigio. La guerra ha estallado en Los Angeles.

Un toque de queda fué establecido en Los Angeles y los libertades civiles básicas fueron suspendidas. Las Cortes de California extendieron el período de tiempo para las personas que fueran ar-

cado su guerra contra los afro-americanos, retornando a la miseria, cambiando las reglas de la ayuda gubernamental para castigarlos.

El pueblo Negro ha venido luchando contra un sistema tan profundamente racista que solamente puede ser entendido como una forma de colonialismo doméstico. Traídos a estas tierras como esclavos, los Negros han permanecido como una comunidad económicamente subordinada a una elite económica blanca, como una colonia bajo la ocupación de su metrópolis. Forzador a vivir en ghettos o dispersos en "proyectos habitacionales", la comunidad Afroamericana esta sujeta a prácticas policiales y judiciales muy cercanas a una ocupación militar colonial.

La revuelta de Los Angeles necesita ser entendida historicamente. Es necesario observarla como la continuación de la lucha. Esto también necesita verse como una salida seria de los términos previos de lo que esta lucha significa. Un buen punto de partida para poder entender lo que sucedió en Los Angeles en 1992 es recordando la rebelión de Watts de 1965.

¿QUE PASO EN WATTS?

En el verano de 1965, el area de Watts de Los Angeles se sublevo. La rebelión fue la mayor sublevación urbano de los años sesenta; esta marco una nueva fase en la lucha de liberación Negra. El movimiento por los Derechos Civiles que había surgido en el Sur, fue incapaz de hablar efectivamente de las necesidades de las comunidades urbanas Afroamericanas. Al igual que la reciente revuelta de Los Angeles la sublevación de Watts estalló por un incidente relacionado con la violencia policial. Los motines de Watts fueron el comienzo de una etapa revolucionario Negro. Este movimiento que emergió en los años siguientes se formo de las dos más espontaneas sublevaciones (Detroit and Newark en 1967, en todas partes en 1968), la creación de organizaciones como el Partido Panteras Negras y la Liga de los Trabajadores Negros Revolucionarios y otros. Al comienzo de los setenta este movimiento había sido efi-

nación se terminara, todo debe ser organizado directa, democratica y colectivamente por todos aquellos que esten involucrados en el que hacer. Seguramente, no poderemos hacer las mismas cosas de la misma manera, no se puede hacer lo mismo en todos los lugares, ni individuos que participano en la lucha alvededor del mundo-tenemos que re-examinar y re-hacerlo todo.

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Indudablemente este análisis es insuficiente e incompleto. No dudamos de que sufrimos de des información y de falta de percepción de lo que ha estado ocurriendo. Sin embargo, esto es importante para que el movimiento anarquista aprenda y entienda lo que ha sucedido; esperamos que otros corrijo, le agreguen y contrdigan estas ideas.

(Escrito colectivamente por Gene, Dema Crassy, Chris Day, Bruce Kala y otros.)

¿EDICION RESUMIDA?

Por necesidades económicas que no nos permitieron publicar nuestro edición regular de 16 páginas.

que no trabajaron en este número.)

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Amor y Rabia POB 3 NYC, 10012 USA

___ Envío \$9 para una subscripción de correo de tercera clase (lento)

___ Envío \$13 para una subscripción de correo de primera clase (rápido, en sobre)

___ ¿Soldado? ¿SIDA? ¿Preso?

Indícalo aquí para una subscripción gratis

___ Yo quiero ser un simpatizante de Amor y Rabia.

Enviaré cada mes: \$5 \$10 \$50

Nombre _____

Dirección _____

Ciudad _____

Estado/Provincia _____

Zip _____ País _____

deluged with calls from outraged folks (thanks, you all!) who wanted to protest this harassment.

On Thursday, May 28th there were solidarity demonstrations for Brian in New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, San Francisco and possibly other places (let us know, you anonymous demonstrators out there!).

In addition, there was a demonstration at the Federal Court House in Springfield. At its peak, there were roughly 15 of us, having traveled from as nearby as the next town over to as far as from Boston, New York, and Hamilton (Ontario). We had a banner that read "Grand Jury: Hands Off Brian Coan" and passed out over 400 leaflets during a period of 3 hours. All the while men in suits with binoculars looked down on us from the Federal building and wouldn't wave back when we all waved. It was a tense 3 hours while we waited to find out whether Brian was in chains and on the way to prison for contempt, or whether he would remain free.

Well, he's still free. Apparently, the Secret Service and the US Attorney only had a piddly-shit piece of "evidence" as I understand it; it was a message from a computer network that said something like "Bush: that guy needs a bullet." As Brian's lawyer said, "Threatening the life of the President? Oh, please." The SS and the US Attorney tried to get Brian to talk to them before going into the jury, making an offer to drop the investigation if he would "less up that he had done it and tell them it was only a joke. Of course, Brian refuses to collaborate with the Secret Service and told them, politely, to stuff it.

He went in to the jury and refused to answer any of their questions. He did give them fingerprints, photographs, and a handwriting sample — all of which they had already, and refusing to give them would have sent him straight to jail. This was a difficult tactical decision, which I'll talk about later.

So, the feds decided not to do anything. The SS will snoop around Brian's home town — winning political points for our side as they stamp all over everyone's flower beds, toes, and sensibilities — and when they don't find anything (be-

Love and Rage, POB 3, NYC 10012. ★

Because of the ugly history of the use of Grand Jury proceedings against political activists, Brian pledged non-collaboration with the inquiry. He felt, and many people including me agree, that this is the only politically acceptable position. However, there are different levels of non-collaboration. Total non-collaboration involves refusing to give them anything — refusing to recognize the Grand Jury at all — this almost surely lands you in prison. While this is a principled position, for tactical and strategic reasons, Brian chose to take another course. Brian felt that since the feds already had this information on him, and refusing to give it would have resulted in him going to prison for up to 18 months and draining the resources of a small movement, this was an appropriate tactical decision. These aren't perfectly clear cut issues. But the precedent that Brian has set is clear: don't go to jail over stuff they already have, but don't give them **anything at all** that they don't. This is a brave and principled decision and for one I'm really impressed with Brian's dedication, discipline, and willingness to go the prison to protect his comrades. Thanks Brian.

Grand Juries are shrouded in secrecy. Although we have no real way of knowing whether this is part of a larger investigation, whether other people will be subpoenaed, or whether this will cause us more wide-spread trouble, all the clues point to this being an isolated incident of Secret Service over-zealousness. But don't take this happy turn of events lightly. This might have been the beginning of large scale legal harassment of the Love and Rage Network, or of the Journal Arm *The Spirit*, which Brian also works with, or of the anarchist movements in general. It's crucial that we know how to resist this kind of repression. For more information, call the Movement Support Network of the Center for Constitutional Rights at (212) 614-6438.

If you can contribute money to pay for Brian's defense costs (\$800) please send contributions made out to "Love and Rage" and earmarked for Brian to Love and Rage, POB 3, NYC 10012. ★

ANARCHIST CALENDAR

August 14th - 21st

RUMBLE WITH REPUBLICANS
An anti-convention and Temporary Autonomous Zone encampment and demonstration. Lots to do in Houston, TX.

Rob Los Ricos
504 W 28th #81
Austin, TX 78705

Sometime this Year

WEST COAST @ GATHERING
Between San Diego and Vancouver!
Stefan Wray
2440 16th Street, Box 241
San Francisco, CA 94103

Want your events

listed? Just tell us about them, darn it.

June 26th - June 29th

THE NY3 FINALLY GET AN APPEAL
The NY3, 3 imprisoned Black revolutionaries, finally overcome years of obstruction and get an appeal in New York. For info (212) 740 8557

July 14th - July 22nd

DEMOLISH THE DEMOCRATS
New York, New York
Phone numbers and addresses of the groups doing organizing for this trouncing are in the article above entitled "Democrat Slime."

June 28th - July 4th

EARTH FIRST! ROUND RIVER RENDEZVOUS
San Juan Mts., Colorado
EFI RRR PO Box 1166
Boulder, CO 80306

A Brazilian anarchist comrade, leaning on a sign that says "Liberty - equality, love, anarchy."





Spanish Synopsis

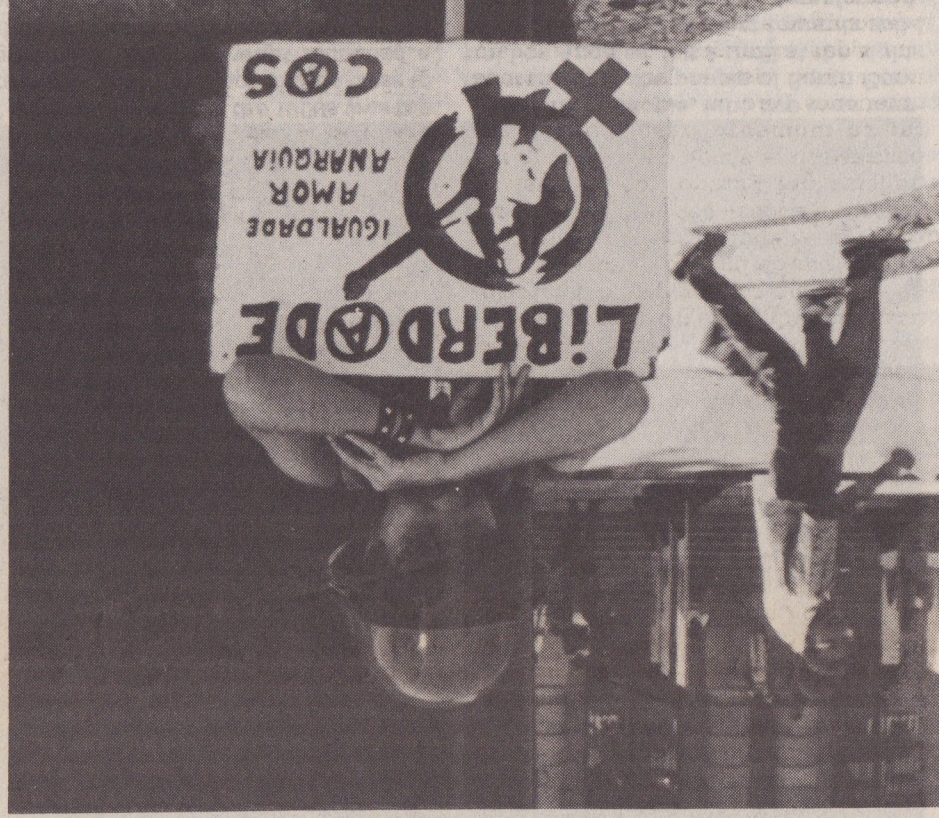
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we know, at least one group (Unconventional Action) and probably both, are planning on working with pro-choice groups to tounce on Operation Rescue's plans to interfere with clinics during the convention.

There will be plenty happening, and hopefully plenty of anarchists here to do it all, so our advice is to get in touch with both groups, find out everything that's being planned, and come to New York!

Con-Dem-92
POB 20950
NY, NY 10009
(212) 465 3175

Unconventional Action
228 East 10th Street #24
NYC, 10003
(212) 465 2548



A Brazilian anarchist comrade, leaning on a sign that says "Liberty - equality, love, anarchy."

ANARCHIST CALENDAR

June 26th - June 29th
August 14th - 21st

agent attempted to interview Brian, in college in Williamstown, Mass. The federal Grand Jury on May 28 in Springfield, MA. Although the summons didn't mention a specific charge, the Secret Service agent who delivered it said that it was related to a charge of threatening the life of the President.

During the next two weeks, Brian and his lawyer, Stanley Cohen, tried to find out what was going on, and tried to decide the best strategy. In the meantime, the Love and Rage office in NY faxed dozens of press releases, and mailed out hundreds of appeals for solidarity from other groups and individuals. All that work paid off. Brian was all over local and regional papers, and was the lead story on the local TV news. His story was picked up by the Associated Press. On Wednesday, May 27 Assistant US Attorney Kevin O'Regan's office was deluged with calls from outraged folks (thanks, you all!) who wanted to protest this harassment.

On Thursday, May 28th there were solidarity demonstrations for Brian in New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, San Francisco and possibly other places (let us know, you anonymous demonstrators out there).

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Because of the broad powers of Grand Jury inquests, they have often been used against political activists. People from other movements, such as the Puerto Rican independence movement, the Black liberation movement, and groups including the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee have faced similar situations. Some have spent time in jail for refusing to collaborate, but some like Brian have won — they didn't testify and they didn't do any time.

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ANARCHIST BEATS GRAND JURY

BY MATT BLACK
ON THURSDAY, MAY 28TH LOVE
and Rage Network supporter
and Coordinating Group mem-
ber Brian Coan appeared before a Fed-
eral Grand Jury. Brian was called to
testify several weeks ago, apparently
concerning a threat to the life of Presi-
dent Bush. Brian pledged non-coopera-
tion with the Grand Jury, and refused to
talk with Secret Service agents, the As-
sistant US Attorney in charge of the in-
vestigation, and refused to testify before
the jury.

WHAT HAPPENED

On Thursday, May 7th Brian was vis-
ited by a Secret Service agent at his
college in Williamstown, Mass. The
agent attempted to interview Brian, in-
forming him that the Federal Govern-
ment was conducting an investigation of
him; Brian wisely refused. On Friday,
May 8th two agents returned with local
police and served Brian a summons to
appear in Federal District Court before a
Federal Grand Jury on May 28 in Spring-
field, MA. Although the summons didn't
mention a specific charge, the Secret
Service agent who delivered it said that
it was related to a charge of threatening
the life of the President.

THE EVILS OF GRAND JURIES

Things were not always this rosy. This
event had and has potentially serious
consequences for Brian, the Love and
Rage Network, and the anarchist move-
ment in general. Grand juries are scary
things. Under Grand Jury rules, you can
only have limited legal representation
during the inquest, and you can be com-
pelled to answer nearly any question, on
any subject, or face imprisonment on
contempt charges. You can be granted
immunity from incriminating yourself
(your rights under the Fifth Amend-
ment), but once granted this limited im-
munity, you have no legal right to refuse
to answer questions. The questions you
are asked do not have to be directly
related to the investigation at hand, so
they could ask "Are you in The Fred
Flintstone Armed Faction? What are the
real names of the other members of The
Barney Rubble Boom-Boom Collective?"
and so on. In addition, your lawyer, ob-
servers, and the press are barred from
the courtroom.

Because of the broad powers of Grand
Jury inquests, they have often been
used against political activists. People
from other movements, such as the
Puerto Rican independence movement,
the Black liberation movement, and
Klan Committee have faced similar situ-
ations. Some have spent time in jail for
refusing to collaborate, but some like
Brian have won — they didn't testify and
they didn't do any time.

Democrat Slime

O.K, SO LAST MONTH WE TOLD
all of you out there in anarchy-
land about a group called Uncon-
ventional Action that's working to make
life difficult for the Democratic National
Convention this summer in New York.

Well, seems that there are really two
groups doing work around this from the
anarchist community and we didn't real-
ize it when we printed the last paper.
So, in addition to Unconventional Action,
there is also a group called The Con-
dem-92 Committee. We don't really un-
derstand what the relationship between
the two groups is.

On the other hand, despite this confu-
sion, and despite whatever energy here
may go into making these distinctions
between groups, there will definitely be
plenty going on to fuck with the Demo-
crats. At least one of the groups (Con-
dem '92) is planning on having an
encampment in Central Park. As far as
we know, at least one group (Unconven-
tional Action) and probably both, are
planning on working with pro-choice
groups to rounce on Operation Rescue's
plans to interfere with clinics during the
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There will be plenty happening, and
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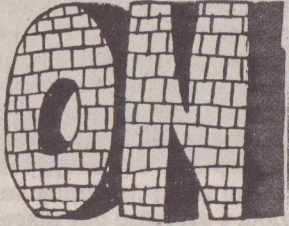
Con-Dem-92
POB 20950
NY, NY 10009
(212) 465 3175

Unconventional Action
228 East 10th Street #24
NYC, 10003
(212) 465 2548

Russian Anarchists Free!

BACK IN MARCH (VOL. 3 NO. 3) WE
printed a history of the arrest,
trial, and imprisonment of Alexei
Rodionov and Alexander Kuznetsov, two
Moscow anarchists arrested on
March, 1991. Well, since that article ran,
the two have been unconditionally
freed!

Apparently due to a combination of
internal and external pressure — and
clearly influenced by the protest demon-
strations that happened around the
world in support of Alexei and Alexan-
der — the Russian government decided
to release them and drop all the charges.
For a complete history of their case,
see the March 1992 Anarchist Black
Cross page. *



Spanish Synopsiis

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Black community the beginnings of an even broader struggle for a world worth living in.

SPONTANEOUS REVOLT AND PREPARATIONS FOR REVOLUTION

But the need for such preparations

should not be confused with the acceptance of any bunch of self-appointed leaders claiming to know what's best for the people.

Perhaps most positive of all was the real festivity evident — created cooperatively among a large, diverse, multiracial population taking control for themselves for once. It was a brief moment that was enormously far from being able to last, let alone grow, but we still find it inspiring.

It is also challenging and frightening, for it forces us to ask: how can the tremendous changes necessary to actually start achieving anarchy ever come about, and what, if anything, can anarchists do to speed them? The people of South Central Los Angeles were able to perform amazing feats with very little formal organization. Contrary to the lies about turning on their own community, people invaded Hollywood and Beverly Hills, striking at the rich who have made their lives miserable, in a way that has not been seen in many previous urban uprisings. But, on the most elemental level, the moment passed because the cops — with the aid of over 10,000 state police, Army, Marines, and National Guards — were able to regain and hold control of the streets. Although scattered driveby shootings of cops and guards, among other forms of resistance, continued for several weeks in Los Angeles and a few other places like Las Vegas, all the large scale uprisings were put down within a few days. The people did not have the capacity to effectively resist the military occupation of their communities, either by direct confrontation, guerrilla activity, or by spreading the rebellion into the ranks of the Army and National Guard. The media blackout succeeded in limiting the spread of revolt. A strong revolutionary media could have broken the blackout. Recent events have shown that mass

Millions of people, who live lives very different from the people of South Central Los Angeles, felt a thrill at the sight of the revolt. That instinct towards solidarity is what needs to be transformed into a broad revolutionary movement. All sorts of people across the US (and around the world) responded to the revolt. This sense of solidarity reflects the potential among many sectors of society for revolt. It also indicates the importance of the Black community, since no other community has demonstrated the power to inspire such widespread revolt. We want to build a revolutionary movement that includes all sectors of the working class and all other people oppressed under this system. Making supporting the Black liberation movement a priority is a strategic decision based on the understanding that the Black liberation movement has a unique potential to inspire revolutionary action across this society.

The revolt in Los Angeles will very likely push forward the development of revolutionary forces within the Black community. These forces may remain relatively small, or they may grow dramatically. Either way, they will need support. They will become the immediate targets of state repression. If we are serious about building a broad and

The revolt that rocked Los Angeles had both racial and class characteristics. Chicanos, whites, and others partici-

BLACK POWER AND THE CLASS WAR

the coming period. In 1992 there does not exist a movement in the Black community that compares to the civil rights movement of the 1960s. This does not mean that people will not create such a movement. It does mean that a new movement is likely to reflect more deeply a rejection of the liberal integrationist politics of the traditional civil rights movement. The question of Black self-determination is likely to take a more prominent place beside more traditional demands for civil rights in any resurgent Black movement. The civil rights movement has failed the Black community in its promise to bring Blacks into the mainstream of a white supremacist society. The establishment of forces of Black autonomous power, from organizations of struggle to educational institutions, will be a priority in the coming period.

of the urban revolts of the 1960s was the creation of a larger Black middle class to serve as a buffer for what remained a white supremacist system. During the recent rebellion, this new Black middle class was also targeted by the people.

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...of the North. But, by the same token, it took place in the context of that movement. There were sections of the civil rights movement who were able to rise to the occasion and organize a more militant and revolutionary Black liberation movement. When the founders of the Oakland based Black Panther Party took the Black Panther symbol from the Mississippi-based Lowndes County Freedom Organization it was an expression of the continuity that existed with the earlier Southern phase of the civil rights movement.

"The Crenshaw shopping district, the heart of L.A.'s Black middle class and the only significant commercial district in South Central had burned to the ground."

Village Voice

In 1965 there was not much of a Black middle class. One of the consequences

...from decades ago. Many white Americans, when faced with the struggles of African Americans, are unable or unwilling to deal with their own racism. White working class communities, even the poorest ones, lack the sense of common antagonism with the police that characterizes most Black communities. While most working class whites will never escape their forms: liberal cooperation with promises of new social programs, and outright racist reaction. We need to fight back against both. We need to uphold the revolt, not just as an expression of righteous outrage, but as an opening round in what we hope will be a rising tide of popular uprisings. The revolt should not be a wake-up call for the ruling class, so that they can throw the poor a few more crumbs. It should be a wake-up call for the oppressed, showing the possibility of a revolutionary solution to our problems. We also need to take up the fight against racism within white working class communities. Black people are not the only people looking for a radical way out of the present situation. A growing fascist movement in white communities is also speaking to many people's deep fears. We need to be in those communities to challenge this movement, to build solidarity with the Black liberation movement, and to cultivate a spirit of revolt that sees in the uprisings in the Black community the beginnings of an even broader struggle for a world worth living in.

SPONTANEOUS REVOLT AND PREPARATIONS FOR REVOLUTION

This momentary expression of solidarity scates the hell out of the powers-that-be who are working furiously to reverse it. The reversal will take two forms: liberal cooperation with promises of new social programs, and outright racist reaction. We need to fight back against both. We need to uphold the revolt, not just as an expression of righteous outrage, but as an opening round in what we hope will be a rising tide of popular uprisings. The revolt should not be a wake-up call for the ruling class, so that they can throw the poor a few more crumbs. It should be a wake-up call for the oppressed, showing the possibility of a revolutionary solution to our problems. We also need to take up the fight against racism within white working class communities. Black people are not the only people looking for a radical way out of the present situation. A growing fascist movement in white communities is also speaking to many people's deep fears. We need to be in those communities to challenge this movement, to build solidarity with the Black liberation movement, and to cultivate a spirit of revolt that sees in the uprisings in the Black community the beginnings of an even broader struggle for a world worth living in.

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But the need for such preparations should not be confused with the acceptance of any bunch of self-appointed leaders claiming to know what's best for the people. Perhaps most positive of all was the real festivity evident — created cooperatively among a large, diverse, multiracial populace taking control for themselves for once. It was a brief moment that was enormously far from being able to last, let alone grow, but we still find it inspiring. It is also challenging and frightening, for it forces us to ask: how can the tremendous changes necessary to actually start achieving anarchy ever come about, and what, if anything, can anarchists do to speed them? The people of South Central Los Angeles were able to perform feats very little

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and how it was, all moved to and from the same places by the same methods. We — all participating individuals, around the world — will have to re-examine and re-do everything.

Is the leap from here to there possible, let alone probable? We don't know. Those who'd like to see it happen can and should do something to make it more possible/probable. We can't — and shouldn't try to — create non-hierarchical collectives spanning the cities from ghetto to barrio. We can and should organize ourselves, directly, non-hierarchically, on the level we can, beginning with affinity groups and political collectives. We can't — and shouldn't try to — build people's militias; we can — and should — take seriously (though not humorlessly) our encounters with the cops, learning what we can, going as far as we can, and preparing for tomorrow. We can't decide how production and distribution should be reorganized, but we can and should study and investigate various alternatives, not simply as theories (although that has its merit), but in really creating alternative models for housing, childcare, health, food supply, entertainment, communication, etc., etc. (and learning from those, such as Food Not Bombs, Wimmen's self-health collectives, etc., which already exist).

Undoubtedly this analysis is insufficient and incomplete. We do not doubt that we suffer from misinformation and misperceptions of what has been occurring. Nonetheless, it's important for anarchists to understand and learn from what has happened; we hope others will correct, add to, and contradict these ideas. *

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The Fire This Time

this time around. By studying the events of that period we can see how the movement exploited or failed to exploit the crises that were pulling the system in different directions.

One of the big differences between Los Angeles revolt is the political context in which the two events took place. Watts was in many ways an expression of the failure of the civil rights movement in the South to speak to the economic issues confronting the urban Black communities of the North. But, by the same token, it took place in the context of that movement. There were sections of the civil rights movement who were able to rise to the occasion and organize a more militant and revolutionary Black liberation movement. When the founders of the Oakland based Black Panther Party took the Black Panther symbol from the Mississippi-based Lowndes County Freedom Organization it was an expression of the continuity that existed with the earlier Southern phase of the civil rights movement.

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In 1965 there was not much of a Black middle class. One of the consequences does not have a parallel among white youth.

Many white Americans, when faced with the struggles of African Americans, are unable or unwilling to deal with their own racism. White working class communities, even the poorest ones, lack the history of revolt, the culture of resistance, the sense of common antagonism with the police that characterizes most Black communities. While most working class whites will never escape their class standing, the possibility is a thousand times greater than for most Black people. The poorest white person can imagine themselves owning a small store under the existing system, and therefore feels they have something to lose when they see revolts like those that rocked Los Angeles. This sentiment is considerably less widespread in the Black community. The popularity of anti-police rap songs among Black youth does not have a parallel among white youth.

action becomes clear. South Central Los Angeles and the situation becomes clear. Many white Americans, when faced with the struggles of African Americans, are unable or unwilling to deal with their own racism. White working class communities, even the poorest ones, lack the history of revolt, the culture of resistance, the sense of common antagonism with the police that characterizes most Black communities. While most working class whites will never escape their class standing, the possibility is a thousand times greater than for most Black people. The poorest white person can imagine themselves owning a small store under the existing system, and therefore feels they have something to lose when they see revolts like those that rocked Los Angeles. This sentiment is considerably less widespread in the Black community. The popularity of anti-police rap songs among Black youth does not have a parallel among white youth.

multi-racial revolutionary movement, now is the time to provide concrete support for Black revolutionaries. At the same time we need to build on the sense of solidarity with the revolt that was expressed in many other communities. There is a fight going on right now for the conscience of white America. For a moment, millions of white people saw clearly in the Rodney King verdict the brutality of the government "only news reported that 39% of white Americans believe that the government can respond to blacks when they resort to violence." Many saw in the revolt an expression of righteous anger, and many poured into the streets to express their outrage as well.

This momentary expression of solidarity against racism within white working class communities. Black people are not the only people looking for a radical way out of the present situation. A growing fascist movement in white communities is also speaking to many people's deep fears. We need to be in those communities to challenge this movement, to build solidarity with the Black liberation movement, and to cultivate a spirit of revolt that sees in the uprisings in the Black community the beginnings of an even broader struggle for a world without class communities. Black people are not the only people looking for a radical way out of the present situation. A growing fascist movement in white communities is also speaking to many people's deep fears. We need to be in those communities to challenge this movement, to build solidarity with the Black liberation movement, and to cultivate a spirit of revolt that sees in the uprisings in the Black community the beginnings of an even broader struggle for a world without class communities.

urban uprisings are one way to challenge the state's power. Defeating it will take a more sustained, determined, or- ganized struggle.

Unless there are already at least seeds of truly collective, non-hierarchical organization at a directly democratic level to consciously oppose authoritarian methods, these will come out on top, particularly in a military situation.

Then the fact must be faced that looking has only very short-term viability as a supply solution. Very soon inventories are depleted and then must be restocked, stuff grown, moved around, etc. — and if domination is to be ended, this must all be organized directly, democratically and collectively by all those involved in the doing. But surely, it can't be the same things made the same way, the same stuff grown where and how it was, all moved to and from the same places by the same methods. We — all participating individuals, around the world — will have to re-examine and re-do everything.

Is the leap from here to there possible, let alone probable? We don't know. Those who'd like to see it happen can and should do something to make it more possible/probable. We can't — and shouldn't try to — create non-hierarchical collectives spanning the cities from ghetto to barrio. We can and should organize ourselves, directly, non-hierarchically, on the level we can, beginning with affinity groups and political collectives. We can't — and shouldn't try to — build people's militias; we can — and should — take seriously (though not necessarily) our encounters with the cops, learning what we can, going as far as we can, and preparing for tomorrow. We can't decide how production and distribution should be reorganized, but we can and should study and investigate various alternatives, not simply as theories (although that has its merit), but in really creating alternative models for housing, childcare, health, food supply, entertainment, communication, etc., etc. (and learning from those, such as Food Not Bombs, Wilmam's self-health collectives, etc., which already exist).

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THE WAR AT HOME

claiming control over their lives to a topic for commentary by Tom Petty, Arsenio Hall, and the predictable array of politicians and journalists.

WATTS UP DOC?

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CAUSES OF THE REBELLION

The rebellion was righteous despite some ugliness.

While people of many different backgrounds participated in the action, poorer African Americans led the way because they have the least to lose.

Many African Americans face unemployment, or have low paying, go-nowhere jobs. Many are unable to obtain the basic necessities of life: decent housing, health care, food. Black people face discrimination in getting education and jobs.

People of color have an extremely high probability of being put in prison. Of Black men between the ages 20 and 29, 1 in 4 will go to prison or be placed on probation. 60% of the women in prison are within it color. Poverty and the absence of other opportunities to escape it compel many

Black youth to turn to gangs, drugs, and anti-social crime. An estimated 150,000 youth belong to the roughly 1,000 LA gangs. Half of all Black and Hispanic youth of South Central LA belong to gangs. In central LA, half of the Black families fall below the poverty line, and youth unemployment hovers at 50%.

In LA there is a widespread sense that community leaders and a Black political establishment betrayed the community. There were tensions building before the verdict, ie, the standoff between Police Chief Darryl Gates and Mayor Tom Bradley. After the beating of King, the police commission suspended Gates, but the city council reinstated him, appeasing pro-police white voters.

In July of 1991, Gates promised to re-

sign by April of '92, but was still in office when the final verdict was released (actually, he wasn't in his office, he was at a fund-raiser). In short, the whimsiness of the mayor and white liberals showed clearly when compared to the political power of Gates. At a meeting at the First A.M.E. Church during the first hours of rioting, the mayor, clergy, and community leaders were booed and ignored by much of the audience. A young black woman charged the podium, and took control of the mike. "We can't rely on these people up here to act...I believe

THE EMPIRE STRIKES BACK

pare us for the brutal repression that followed the rebellion.

The Los Angeles revolt and the shock waves that spread around the world struck fear in the hearts of the US ruling elite. Almost immediately they began to strike back. The invasion of Los Angeles first by National Guard and then by Federal troops reflected that war had broken out in Los Angeles, and that the longer the revolt lasted the further it might spread. A curfew was established and basic civil liberties were suspended. The California courts extended the period of time people could be held under arrest without charge from 24 hours to a full week. Over 14,000 people were arrested in Los Angeles. Over 1,000 people were deported as "illegal aliens." Over 2,000 people were arrested in sweeps in the San Francisco Bay area, at least half of whom were clearly engaged only in peaceful protest. The National Guard was mobilized in Las Vegas as well. The military and police response to the

revolt went right along with the effective use of television for social control. At first, the television news eagerly broadcast helicopter shots of the early hours of the revolt. But as it became clear that the Los Angeles uprising was no ordinary riot, that it was sweeping the second largest city in the US, and becoming the largest single expression of domestic unrest since the Civil War, the television coverage shifted to damage-control mode. The spread of the unrest to every corner of the country could not be denied, so it was reduced to short clips without meaningful information about the scale of the revolt, mixed with lengthier accounts of "socially acceptable" expressions of protest. Every hour we were assured that calm was returning, that law and order were being restored.

there is justice.
Black people

ety. What happened in LA over a week was an intensified version of what's been going on all along. When people are enslaved, caged, beaten and denied the basics of life, they react in many ways. Some seek revenge, some to fulfill their needs, some kill 10,000 businesses destroyed, 58 dead, nearly 10,000 arrested, a billion dollars worth of damage. An increasingly fascist USA has intensified its war on Blacks, taking back the crumbs, changing the rules of government aid to punish. There's been a long history of injustice that led up to what happened in Los Angeles. From the time in America have struggled for their freedom. The events in Los Angeles were the continuation of this struggle. The verdict in the trial of officers Wind, Koon, Briseno and Powell confirmed and reiterated the truth — that there is still no justice for African Americans. The reaction of LA's Black community was a clear sign that the fight will not end until

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Black people have been fighting back against a system so deeply racist that it can only be understood as a form of domestic colonialism. Brought here as slaves, Blacks have remained, as a community, economically subordinate to a white economic elite, like a colony under

uprising of the 1960s. It signalled a new phase in the struggle for Black liberation. The Civil Rights movement that had arisen in the South was unable to speak effectively to the needs of urban Black communities elsewhere. Like the recent Los Angeles uprising, the Watts revolt was sparked by an incident involving police violence, but reflected a much deeper alienation from US society. The Watts revolt was the beginning of a revolutionary phase for the Black movement. The revolutionary Black movement that emerged in the following years took the form of both more spontaneous uprisings (Detroit and Newark in 1967, everywhere in 1968), and the creation of organizations like the Black Panther Party, the League of Revolution-ary Black Workers, and others. By the early 1970s this movement had been effectively crushed by state repression where it had not been torn apart by its own internal tensions.

It is not unlikely that the coming years will see more urban uprisings or even the establishment of popular revolution-ary Black organizations. There are many differences between the current situation and the situation in the 1960s, but knowing what happened then can help us respond more effectively to events

who was let off with probation and community service.

"This antagonism was exploited by the police, who facilitated the attacks on Korean shops by arresting armed Korean shop-owners while protecting white owned businesses.

"The hyped incidents of attacks on whites or Asians, while inexcusable, need to be put into perspective: compare four incidents in over a week with the average number of racist assaults by the LAPD in one day! And, in each case, not only did the majority of people condemn the attacks as misdirected and wrong, but individuals — without guns, nightsticks or stinking badges — intervened, at their own personal risk, and directly stopped them. (And not like Officer Briseno, the "turncoat" cop, claimed he helped Rodney King by stomping on his back to get him to stay still.)

But these examples are evidence of misdirection — or maybe stupidity or even malice — but certainly not of the "mindlessness" or "randomness" of the violence. On the other hand, even in the reports from the usual unreliable sources, it was obvious that much of the rage was strikingly well directed: police cars, police stations and the police themselves were prime targets. So were government offices, banks, large chain stores... and gunshops.

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People of color have an extremely high probability of being put in prison. Of Black men between the ages 20 and 29, 1 in 4 will go to prison or be placed on probation. 60% of the women in prison are women of color. Poverty and the absence of other opportunities to escape it compel many Black youth to turn to gangs, drugs, and anti-social crime. An estimated 150,000 youth belong to the roughly 1,000 LA gangs. Half of all Black and Hispanic youth

votes for Bush, to the racial code words of "welfare," "crime," and "affirmative action," an atmosphere of vicious racism has been consciously cultivated by conservatives and liberals alike.

The result of this is that there is no longer a War on Poverty, but an outright War on the Poor in the disguises of the war on drugs, crime prevention, reform-war on welfare, etc. Racism, oppression, and the police that divide people are what capitalism thrives on, and what maintains this white supremacist system. The rebellion in LA was a bold rejection of "business as usual." It was to be expected, not condemned.

The old racist lies of recent political campaigns have been transformed into new racist lies about the rebellion. Politicians and the capitalist media would have us believe that people were consciously burning down their own homes in some irrational expression of rage. Certainly, people's homes were burnt down. Fires set to more deserving targets sometimes accidentally spread to people's homes. Some people's homes may have been set on fire deliberately. We are not in a position to know to what degree these incidents involved deserving targets. What we do know is that the portrayal of the Black community of Los Angeles as so insane as to destroy their own homes is propaganda designed to dehumanize that community and prepare us for the brutal repression that followed the rebellion.

THE EMPIRE STRIKES BACK

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THE WAR AT HOME

for commentary by Tom Petty, Arsenal Hall, and the predictable array of politicians and journalists.

But the Los Angeles revolt was not a movie. It was a real event in the lives of real people. It was the collective expression of a community that had been oppressed and brutalized for too long, and had decided to fight back. The jurors in Simi Valley explained that they based their verdict acquitting the four cops charged with beating Rodney King on more than the 81 seconds of videotape that the whole world had seen. They said they based it on what happened before the video-taped beating. They meant 15 minutes before — not 400 years before.

There was a tremendous amount of anger expressed across the country, revealing the depth of the crisis in our society.

WATTS UP DOC?

The dispatch of the Army, Marines, people took things into their own hands, allowed to be self-sufficient, so some elite. These communities have not been apart whatever kind of cohesive community Black people have been able to create. The Los Angeles revolt needs to be understood historically. It needs to be seen as part of a continuing struggle. It also needs to be seen as the serious departure from the previous terms of that struggle that it is. A good place to start to understand what happened in Los Angeles in 1992 is to remember the Watts rebellion of 1965.

In the summer of 1965, the Watts area of Los Angeles rose up in revolt. The Watts revolt was the first major urban



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they have our best interests at heart, but we cannot rely on them....You know what we need to do."

DON'T BELIEVE THE HYPE

The poor of LA had little to lose. Is it that they did? The plight of the poor is usually ignored. For the past 12 years politicians have succeeded in demoniz- ing Blacks. From the Willie Horton ad designed to transform racist fear into votes for Bush, to the racial code words of "welfare," "crime," and "affirmative action," an atmosphere of vicious racism has been consciously cultivated by con- servatives and liberals alike.

The result of this is that there is no longer a War on Poverty, but an outright War on the Poor in the disguises of the war on drugs, crime prevention, reform- ing welfare, etc. Racism, oppression, and the politics that divide people are what capitalism thrives on, and what maintains this white supremacist sys- tem. The rebellion in LA was a bold rejection of "business as usual." It was to be expected, not condemned.

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press, there really was significant ra- cism in the widespread looting of Korean owned businesses. Korean shops were clearly singled out for looting.

There are many factors that contrib- ute to the animosity between the Black and Korean communities. African- American living in LA constitute a mi- nority amongst minorities. The Hispanic and Asian communities are both grow- ing rapidly, and many Blacks feel like they're being pushed out. The Asian, Hispanic and Black communities are pit- ted against each other in a battle to survive. The beating of Rodney King was just one incident that primed the Black community of Los Angeles for revolt. Perhaps equally important was the shooting in the back of 14 year old Latasha Harlins by a Korean shop-owner who was let off with probation and com- munity service.

This antagonism was exploited by the police, who facilitated the attacks on Ko- rean shops by arresting armed Korean shop-owners while protecting white owned businesses.

The hyped incidents of attacks on whites or Asians, while inexcusable, need to be put into perspective: compare four incidents in over a week with the average number of racist assaults by the LAPD in one day! And, in each case, not only did the majority of people con- demn the attacks as misdirected and wrong, but individuals — without guns, nightsticks or stinking badges — inter- vened, at their own personal risk, and directly stopped them. (And not like Of- ficer Briseno, the "turncoat" cop, claimed he helped Rodney King by stomping on his back to get him to stay still.)

But these examples are evidence of misdirection — or maybe stupidity or even malice — but certainly not of the "mindlessness" or "randomness" of the violence. On the other hand, even in the reports from the usual unreliable sources, it was obvious that much of the rage was strikingly well directed: police cars, police stations and the police them- selves were prime targets. So were gov- ernment offices, banks, large chain stores...and gunshops.

500 Queers

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seems to me, missed the most important point — viewed from the right perspective, it was a profoundly spiritual action, and a legitimate expression of authentic Queer power. One of the major roles of the Sacred Clown is to act as counter-participants of religious ceremonies. Irreverently — even "disrespectfully" in Western terms — the Clowns disrupt, mock, and generally parody the sacred rites. But the Clown is sacred too, a means of "seeing through" the cultural symbols and recognizing them for the metaphor they are. By introducing humor (and often explicit sexuality) where it would not be expected by Western standards, the Sacred Clown in effect says, "See, this is only a show after all, and these are only actors, not gods. Let's not take every thing so literally. These ceremonies stand for something sacred, but they themselves are no more (or less) sacred than eating, making love, or taking a piss." In this way, the Clown denies the separation of experience into sacred and profane — a separation the Catholic Church and all of Western culture have institutionalized — and represents the holiness of all life.

SEXUALITY AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

I have focused on Native American identities for many reasons, but identity

A good example of what I'm talking about is the famous (or infamous) ACT UP and WHAM! (Women's Health Action Mobilization) demonstration at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City, when activists disrupted the church's mass in order to protest the church's position on AIDS education and Gay rights. Responses ran the gamut from cheers to outrage (even in the Queer community). Radicals called it a long overdue statement; moderates condemned it as unnecessarily inflammatory and disrespectful. But everyone, it

ties are always historically specific and must be understood in a cultural context. While I believe that rigid categories of sexual preference or orientation, especially when applied to others, do violence to the flexibility and diversity of individual experience, I cannot accept the idea of a common, undifferentiated sexuality which is then directed and formed by experience or by society. People are differentiated, both sexually and otherwise, and to pretend they are not leads to the same reductionism as the claim that all religions are simply cultural interpretations of some generic, basal spirituality. Such positions destroy the mystery of both religion and sex. I have wrestled with both sexual and cultural/racial identity, and found no easy resolution to either. Between the idea that there is a fixed and unchanging "gay" nature which has been present in all times and places, and the conception of identity as a completely cultural construction, it seems to me there is a complex realm of interplay and interaction. Choice, context and nature all play a part in what we are.

1992 and its accompanying debate on the legitimacy of official vs minority history can provide us with a context for making connections that may never come again. Over several decades, the degree to which racism against Native Americans and others has been a part of official US policy has been gradually uncovered. It is important to continue exploring and confronting these facts. But a complicitary investigation into the role of homophobia and political tradition has barely been started. We know, of course, that during the McCarthy era, "Queer baiting" became nearly as common as "red baiting." And in recent years Gay rights have taken a position second only to abortion in polarizing opposition between progressive groups and the religious Right. But the history

of these phenomena has yet to be fully explored. For example, in 1779 Thomas Gidderson authored a bill revising certain Virginia laws, adding sodomy to a list of crimes including polygamy and rape, for which the punishment was castration for a man and, for a woman, cutting a hole of at least one and a half inches in the nose. The previous penalty had been death, so perhaps these were considered liberal advances in their day. During President Truman's administration, the appointment of Kathryn McHale, a former executive director of the American Association of University Women, to the Subversive Activities Control Board, was torpedoed by Senator Pat McCarran when he "threatened to hold public hearings during which information would be brought out that she was a lesbian." Accusations of lesbianism have been used to discredit and divide the Women's Movement from its beginnings. These are not isolated incidents. They are part of a pervasive and usually unarticulated homophobic politics.

There is a historical continuity between the homophobic misnomers and Jesse Helms; between Balboa's soldiers and modern flag bashers; between the devastating epidemics of smallpox and other diseases (sometimes deliberately seeded with infected blankets) which decimated Indian tribes and the AIDS crisis of today.

1992 is an opportunity to ask questions and present answers. It is also a chance to build powerful connections between different groups struggling against racism, sexism, and homophobia. We must not waste this potential. And in the process, we can further explore the possibilities of expressing our social, political, and spiritual perspectives and of wielding our uniquely Queer power in old and new ways. *

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500 Queers

anti-social. In fact, it was the FBI which used tactics such as extensive surveillance, infiltration, the fostering of infighting through false letters, raids, murder, fire bombing, sensationalist misinformation campaign, frame-ups and show trials. Many activists wound up dead or imprisoned, and their organizations were left slandered and broken.

Some of these prisoners are queer, all of them have been punished for resisting and all out fighting against the state.

Many people think that the practice of putting people in jail for their political beliefs went out with bell bottoms. In fact, the 80s saw many revolutionaries jailed, and we're likely to see more do time for fighting back. In 1991 there was a rash of COINTELPRO type harassment visited against ACT UP members — especially women — in Boston, New York and other cities. A nine year trial is coming to a close which will put at least two Puerto Rican *independistas* - Yvonne Melendez and Filiberto Ojeda — and possibly several more behind bars in dubious connection to the 1983 robbery of a Hartford, Connecticut Wells Fargo depot, totalling \$7.1 million.

Those in prison must not be forgotten. Most of these prisoners struggle to maintain their political integrity and do political work within the prisons. They face severe punishment and restrictions for this. Prisoners are routinely subjected to arbitrary changes of rules, strip searches, sexual harassment, and denied access to contact, information and health care. People with AIDS in prison live half as long as PWAs on the outside. Many political prisoners are locked in their cells for 23 hours a day, sent to the "hole" for minor infractions,

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that the practice of putting people in jail for their political beliefs went out with bell bottoms. In fact, the 80s saw many revolutionaries jailed, and we're likely to see more do time for fighting back. In 1991 there was a rash of COINTELPRO type harassment visited against ACT UP members — especially women — in Boston, New York and other cities. A nine year trial is coming to a close which will put at least two Puerto Rican *independistas* - Yvonne Melendez and Filiberto Ojeda — and possibly several more behind bars in dubious connection to the 1983 robbery of a Hartford, Connecticut Wells Fargo depot, totalling \$7.1 million.

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Evans, Laura Whitehorn and Susan Rosenberg are still serving time for doing so.

"There are at least two other queer groups doing prisoner support. Out Of Control-Lesbian Committee to Support Women Political Prisoners does support and produce a newsletter out of San Francisco. QUISP of Chicago marched at Queer Pride dressed in beanies and t-shirts, carrying a banner that read, "Gee Beav, I didn't know there were political prisoners in the United States."

These groups and individuals inspired New York activists to come together specifically as queers as an ad hoc group called Lesbian and Gay Folks Supporting Political Prisoners. This was around the time of the International Tribunal on US Political Prisoners organized by Freedom Now in December of 1990.

Over time the group has solidified and taken on the catcher moniker. The amount of work QUISP has done over the past two years is impressive. They have organized several events to benefit political prisoners, including Eddie Hatcher, an HIV+ Native American, Oscar Lopez Rivera, a Puerto Rican political prisoner of war; Dhurba Bin Wahad, a former Black Panther and political prisoner who is currently fighting attempts to re-imprison him; and Mumia Abu-Jamal, a journalist and former Black Panther who is currently on death row.

The group has also organized on numerous occasions to turn people out to courtyards and streets to demand release of prisoners, and organized a teach-in on FBI harassment when it was especially needed by ACT UP and Queer Nation.

QUISP has turned out to be a small group of white people taking leadership from and doing support for people of color. This is a common practice in the white

and solidarity. QUISP is opposed to all forms of oppression on principle — they believe that, as Laura Whitehorn says, "we cannot be full human beings unless we fight for all the oppressed. Otherwise our struggle is just as individualist, and racist as the dominant society. In that case we'll never win anything worth fighting for." So we fight for the liberation of others as we fight for the liberation of ourselves — because it's the right thing to do and it's totally worth it — and that's solidarity.

Sometimes this means supporting people whose politics on queer issues are less than fabulous. For instance, QUISP has been engaged in a dialogue with Mumia Abu-Jamal. He has said that he believes heterosexual relationships are more natural than homosexual ones. In the same letter he stated that he wouldn't tell other people how to live their lives and that he very much appreciated QUISP's support. QUISP supports Mumia because he could die for what he fought for, and that is wrong and that is racist. They will support him, but they won't back down on their commitment to ending their own oppression, nor will they be silent about it.

As the US government continues to show its willingness to severely punish any resistance to the grind of poverty, racism, disease and violence — from L.A. to San Juan — we must sustain and create networks that will fight for our imprisoned comrades. We must show people that their efforts in the struggle for liberation will not be forgotten.

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BY JESSICA JONES

QUISP (QUEER WOMEN AND MEN UNITED IN Support of Political Prisoners), is a group of queers that believes fighting oppression through the support of political prisoners is a crucial act of solidarity. QUISP believes that this work can bring an understanding of the brutally repressive nature of the system to people while making a real difference to the lives of prisoners.

There are over one hundred political prisoners in the United States. They come out of a variety of movements for liberation. The Black Liberation movement — the Black Panthers, MOVE, and others — the American Indian Movement (AIM), the movement for Puerto Rican independence, the Mexican/Chicano movement, and from the North American anti-imperialist movement — members of which were jailed specifically for actions done in support of the other movements mentioned. There are also Irish prisoners, those jailed for anti-nuclear and anti-militarist work, anarchist prisoners, a Japanese prisoner, and at least 22 people jailed for refusing to fight in the Persian Gulf War. The Black, Indian, Puerto Rican and anti-imperialist movements were the targets of a particularly vicious campaign by the FBI's Counter Intelligence Program (COINTEL-PRO) designed to crush their organizations and prevent them to the public as insane, murderous and anti-social. In fact, it was the FBI which used tactics such as extensive surveillance, infiltration, the fostering of infighting through false letters, raids, murder, fire bombing, sensationalist misinformation campaigns, frame-ups and show trials. Many activists were left slandered and broken.

Some of these prisoners are queer, all of them have been punished for resisting and all out fighting against the state. Many people think that the practice of putting people in jail for their political beliefs went out with bell bottoms. In fact, the 80s saw many revolutionaries jailed, and we're likely to see more do time for fighting back. In 1991 there was a rash of COINTELPRO type harassment visited against ACT UP members — especially women — in Boston, New York and other cities. A nine year trial is coming to a close which will put at least two Puerto Rican *independantistas* - Yvonne Melez and Rumberto Ojeda — and possibly several more behind bars in dubious connection to the 1983 robbery of a Hartford, Connecticut Wells Fargo depot, totalling \$7.1 million.

Those in prison must not be forgotten. Most of these prisoners struggle to maintain their political integrity and do political work within the prisons. They face severe punishment and restrictions for this. Prisoners are routinely subjected to arbitrary changes of rules, demand to release prisoners, and organized a teach-in.

or put in solitary confinement for extended periods. The attempt to break their spirits can involve being put into a sensory deprivation cell — an empty room with white walls in which the lights are sometimes on for days or are switched on and off at odd hours to disorient the person inside. These cells may be too cold or under constant camera surveillance. This amounts to nothing less than psychological torture. All of this is to punish people for their political beliefs and actions and to coerce them to cease any further actions and repudiate their past.

QUISP came out of a long history of queer anti-imperialist activism. Many queers who came before them have put their lives on the line to support liberation movements. Resistance Conspiracy defendants Linda Evans, Laura Whitehorn and Susan Rosenberg are still serving time for doing so.

There are at least two other queer groups doing prisoner support. Out Of Control-Lesbian Committee to Support Women Political Prisoners does support and produce a newsletter out of San Francisco. QUISP of Chicago marched at Queer Pride dressed in beanies and t-shirts, carrying a banner that read, "Que Beav, I didn't know there were political prisoners in the United States." These groups and individuals inspired New York activists to come together specifically as queers as an ad hoc group called Lesbian and Gay Folks Supporting Political Prisoners. This was around the time of the International Tribunal on US Political Prisoners organized by Freedom Now in December of 1990.

Over time the group has solidified and taken on the catcher moniker. The amount of work QUISP has done over the past two years is impressive. They have organized several events to benefit political prisoners, including Eddie Hatcher, an HIV+ Native American, Oscar Lopez Rivera, a Puerto Rican political prisoner of war, Dhoruba Bin Wahad, a former Black Panther and political prisoner who is currently fighting attempts to reimprison him; and Mumia Abu-Jamal, a journalist and former Black Panther who is currently organized on numerous occasions to turn people out to courtrooms and streets to demand release of prisoners, and organized a teach-in.

QUISP: QUEERS SUPPORTING COMRADES BEHIND BARS

anti-imperialist movement that many of QUISP's members come from. However, this raises the specter of yet another white queer organization representing the multi-racial queer community in a particular area of work. This time prisoner solidarity work. Member Kate Holm says that at this point, their responsibility as white people is to organize white people to fight racism — to be true allies to people of color, rather than trying to recruit them.

The concept of being "allies" involves recognizing the political work that people of color are doing and supporting them in doing that, on the one hand, and taking the responsibility for educating white people about racism, on the other.

QUISP works on the concepts of principled coalition and solidarity. QUISP is opposed to all forms of oppression on principle — they believe that, as Laura Whitehorn says, "we cannot be full human beings unless we fight for all the oppressed. Otherwise our struggle is just as individualist, and racist as the dominant society. In that case we'll never win anything fighting for." So we fight for the liberation of others as we fight for the liberation of ourselves — because it's the right thing to do and it's totally worth it — and that's solidarity.

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Like it says to the right in the mast-head, when we're really broke we publish a "broadsheet" edition — 8 pages instead of 16 — rather than having to skip a month.

Love and Rage is paid for by anarchist activists, and we depend on your support. Please contribute now or pledge on a regular basis. We need your help to publish on a monthly basis.

Stuff we had planned to print in the 8 pages which aren't here this month will appear next month.

Broadsheet?

The American Indian Movement, the Chicano Movement, the Committee for American Indian History and many other group have started organizing counter-quintecennial protests, attempting to bring these issues into the public forum and expose the "big lie of officially sanctioned history. At least one national news-letter, *Indigenous Thought*, formed to coordinate activists' efforts. Hopefully, many progressive groups will lend their support, and, no doubt, there will be many Queers in the front ranks. As usual.

But all dykes and faggots — not just those like myself who are of Native American descent — have a special stake in this anniversary. Expanding the myopic common view of the European conquest of the "new world" is not an "Indian issue"; it's a Queer issue, too. These are not obscure historical events dredged up to make others feel guilty for the past. Despite the persistent efforts of our enemies, neither Indians nor Queers have disappeared, and the war against us hasn't ended either. Some very important things need to be said about the historical connections between racism, sexism, and As Queers, we need to come to grips with and understand the role that sexism and homophobia have played in the

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Most Love and Rage supporters are active in efforts to change the world above and beyond publishing Love and Rage. Supporters are involved in a broad range of local groups and non-groups, publications of various sorts, and issue networks and organizations that work nationally and internationally, and they often write about their activities in Love and Rage.

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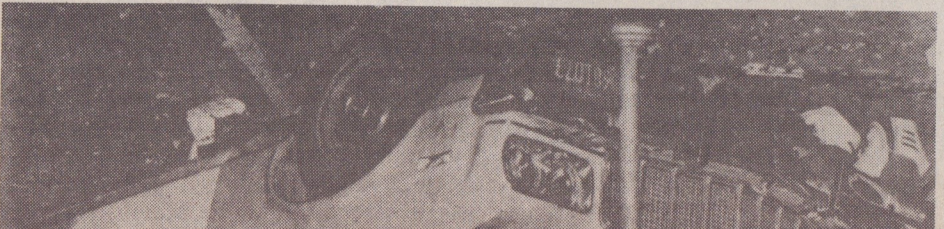
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Christopher, Chris, Bob, Matt,
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Part of the history of queer resistance — protesters trash a cop car during the "White Knight" riots after the murder of Harvey Milk.

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Queer figures were targets because they were visible, and they were visible because, in many cases, they were leaders. The *berdache*, the *whore*, the *koskatsaka* held positions of power — not experienced in the tribal context. Power, power in patriarchal terms but as it was not as a control over the actions of others, but as a function of relationship: to oneself, to the community, to Spirits and/or Divinity and to the natural world. This is what we need to understand. Queer power, like women's power and

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(Continued on next page)

To a certain extent, the new activism of the 80s and 90s has already shown us the way. ACT UP and, more recently, Queer Nation, embody an unmistakably Queer perspective; non-hierarchical, even anarchical, they combine seriousness with humor, politics with play. They can be seen as collective expressions of powerful and pervasive Queer archetypes — Tricksters and Sacred Clowns.

The Trickster is a figure common to nearly every human culture, but especially visible in American Indian sto-

ry, offers this insight: "It has always been the custom with these wandering people to regard females in an inferior light in every way. They have no voice in council, or anything to say in assemblies founded by men...." While it is impossible to generalize about "all Native Americans," we know that in many tribes women held great influence and power, that it was primarily at white insistence that Indian women were excluded from treaty-making councils, and that many Indian leaders expressed astonishment that white women were excluded from the decision-making process. Without

Lesbian and Gay male figures in American Indian society were early targets of European oppression. An engraving survives that shows Spanish soldiers setting dogs on a native berdache (Indian transvestite) during the conquest of Central America, and another conquistador boasted of having destroyed homosexual art in Colombia. Missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, were horrified to find Queer people among Native American tribes. Alvar Nuñez Cabeza De Aca, an "explorer" who claimed to have been held captive among the Indians of Florida between 1528 and 1533, reported: "I saw a devilish thing, and it is that I saw one man married to another, and these are impossible, effeminate men...." A Franciscan missionary, Francisco De Pareja, served as a missionary to the Timucuan Indians in the area between what is now Georgia and Florida, from 1595 to 1616. He wrote a confessional containing questions for priests to ask their penitents, including explicit questions about both male and female homosexual behavior.

But all dykes and faggots — not just those like myself who are of Native American descent — have a special stake in this anniversary. Expanding the myopic common view of the European conquest of the "new world" is not an "Indian issue"; it's a Queer issue, too. These are not obscure historical events dredged up to make others feel guilty for the past. Despite the persistent efforts of our enemies, neither Indians nor Queers have disappeared, and the war against us hasn't ended. Some very important things these issues into the public forum and expose the "big lie" of officially sanctioned history. At least one national newsletter, *Indigenous Thought*, formed to coordinate activists' efforts. Hopefully, many progressive groups will lend their support, and, no doubt, there will be many Queers in the front ranks. As usual.

This is the event we are preparing to commemorate. It was really only the beginning.

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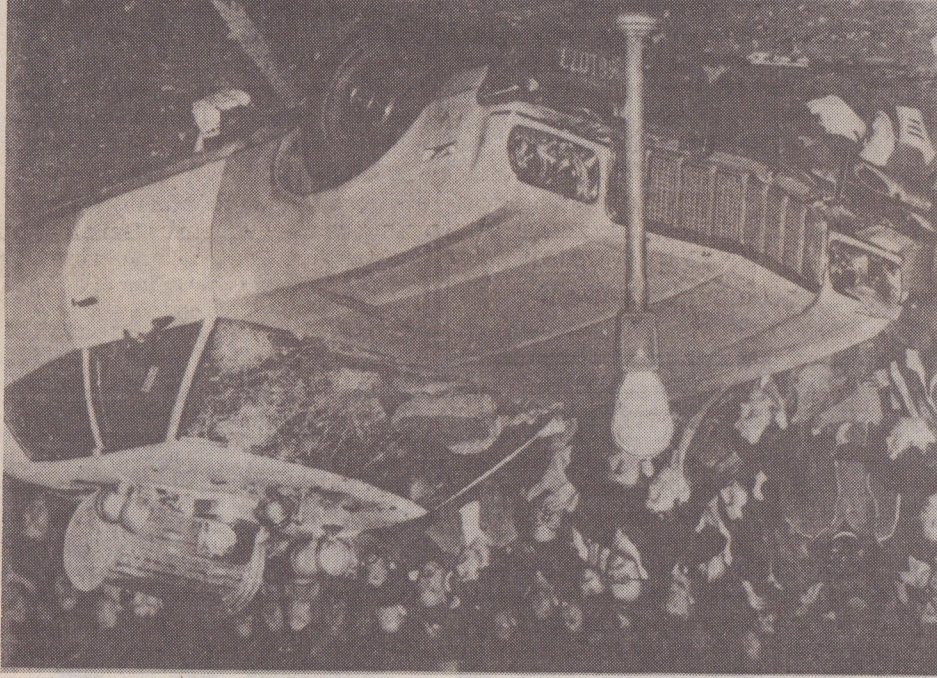
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Part of the history of queer resistance — protesters trash a cop car during the "White Knight" riots after the murder of Harvey Milk.

the participation of women, how could any people be in balance or in harmony with the world?

Queer figures were targets because they were visible, and they were visible because, in many cases, they were leaders. The berdache, the winkte, the *koskaskaka* held positions of power — not power in patriarchal terms but as it was experienced in the tribal context. Power, not as a control over the actions of others, but as a function of relationship: to oneself, to the community, to Spirits and/or Divinity and to the natural world.

ries, "a creature who exists to break taboos, violate categories, and defy structure...the Trickster...libidinous, and changeable gender. Tricksters ritually violate taboos by dressing as women (the Winnebago Trickster even becomes female for a time and bears children, only to remember suddenly that he is also a man and to move on.) They demonstrate contingency of order, the fragility of social custom...Disorder defines the Trickster, but so does power. The Trickster

500 Queers of Resistance

BY LYN L. ELLIOT

NINETEEN NINETY-TWO, IN ADDITION to being a presidential election year with all the attendant bread and circuses, is also the 500th anniversary of the "discovery" of the Americas by Christopher Columbus.

The US Government has formed a Jubilee Committee to promote and coordinate nationwide celebrations. Museums exhibit already touring the country, complete with mocked-up ships on which school children are encouraged to "play conquistador." And Spain is preparing authentic replicas of the Nina, the Pinta, and the Santa Maria to recreate Columbus' voyage.

But the celebrants are not the only ones organizing. When Columbus arrived in the "new world" (very confused about where he was), he found a hemisphere which was neither unknown nor uninhabited. The descendants of those indigenous peoples (the ones who survived — many tribes and cultures did not have a different perspective on that "first contact"; to them, it was not discovery, but an invasion. Columbus wrote to his royal patrons that "there is not in the world a better nation. They love their neighbors as themselves... and though it is true that they are naked, yet their manners are decorous and praiseworthy." But he went on to suggest that the indigenous people be "made to work, sow and do all that is necessary to adopt our ways." Columbus began shipping members of the Taino tribe back to Spain, converting them to Christianity, and generally introducing them to the benefits of civilization. The Spaniards looted and burned villages; they kidnapped hundreds of men, women and children and shipped them to Europe to be sold as slaves... Whole tribes were destroyed, hundreds of thousands of people in less than a decade after Columbus set foot on the beach of San Salvador, October 12, 1492.

War against indigenous cultures. This is part of our history — and the world's which must be confronted, so that we can give and recover; and so that the bigots, by pretending that such things never happened in the past, cannot continue to hide them in the present. But beyond that, there are vital lessons for us to learn, both as individuals and as an evolving community, today.

In 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella succeeded in driving the last of the "heaven" Moors (north African Muslims who had ruled large portions of what is Spain. Throughout most of Europe, and especially in Italy and Spain, the Inquisition was hard at work "purifying the body of Christ" by destroying in large numbers the real and imagined enemies of the Church, a disproportionate number of whom seem to have been women or Queers (usually referred to as witches or heretics).

When Europeans came to the "new world," they brought not only their racism and religious intolerance, but their sexism and homophobia as well. Genocide was only a small step for a culture already engaged in gynocide and homocide.

Lesbian and Gay male figures in American Indian society were early targets of European oppression. An engraving survives that shows Spanish soldiers setting dogs on a native berdache (Indian transvestite) during the conquest of Central America, and another conquistador boasted of having destroyed homoerotic art in Colombia. Missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, were horrified to find Queer people holding positions of honor and respect among Native American tribes. Alvar Nunez Cabeza De Aca, an "explorer" who claimed to have been held captive among the Indians of Florida between 1538 and 1533, reported: "I saw a levi-

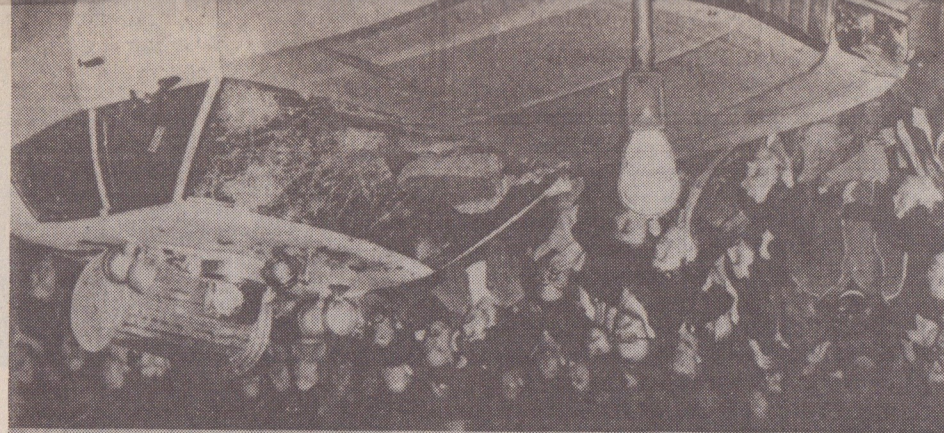
were held of old...." He was unsure whether this was caused by their "shameful passions" or "because of the ignorance of the Europeans...."

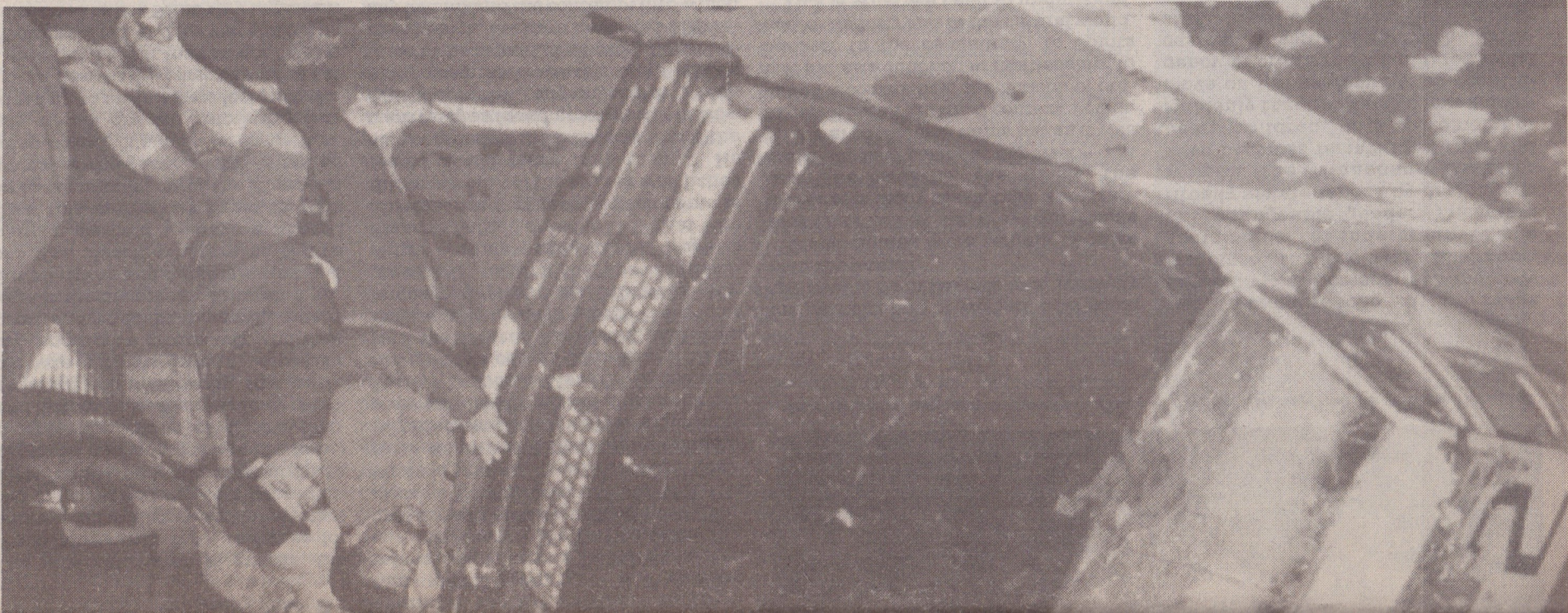
It is interesting to note how often homophobic sentiments are linked to sexual ones. Male transvestites and berdache are repeatedly described as "degrading themselves" by assuming women's clothing and work and status, and it is sometimes even seen as a punishment for homosexual behavior. Such interpretations are as likely projections of European ideology as a legitimate reflection of tribal beliefs. Edwin T. Denig, writing about a "Woman Chief" of the Crow, offers this insight: "It has always been the custom with these wandering people to regard females in an inferior light in every way. They have no voice in council, or anything to say in assemblies founded by men...." While it is impossible to generalize about "all Native Americans," we know that in many tribes women held great influence and power, that it was primarily at white insistence that Indian women were excluded from treaty-making councils, and that many Indian leaders expressed astonishment that white women were excluded from the decision-making process. Without

To a certain extent, the new activism of the 80s and 90s has already shown us the way. ACT UP and, more recently, Queer Nation, embody an unmistakably Queer perspective; non-hierarchical, even anarchical, they combine seriousness with humor, politics with play. They can be seen as collective expressions of powerful and pervasive Queer archetypes — Thickers and Sacred Clowns.

CLOWNS, TRICKSTERS, ACTIVISTS

tribal power, can never be reconciled with patriarchal conceptions of power. It can never be effectively expressed through existing political and economic institutions, which is why political lobbying and legal actions to protect our rights, while certainly necessary, can never truly accomplish the goals of liberation. At this unique, self-conscious juncture in history, we can and must create our own channels and institutions for the exploration of Queer myths and the expression of Queer energy.





Anarchists should not just support, but should **CELEBRATE** these aspects of rebellion. By that we don't mean mindless cheerleading — there were certainly lots of problems and enormous shortcomings. Much of what's to be learned are negative lessons. But in the face of attacks from the left and the right on the "mindless violence = anarchy," we stand with the (actually conscious and liberatory) violence, which really is a step towards anarchy.

THE OLD SOCIETY IN THE SHELL OF THE NEW

We are not so naive as to believe that there was nothing nasty, brutish or wrong in L.A. The Los Angeles revolt suggested the possibility of a new society, but it also showed that the people who will make a new society carry with them many of the values of the old. Although it was heavily played up by the

took control of the streets — and a little bit of their lives.

"We came all the way from Santa Ana to get me some free stuff," said a fortyish Chicano, and then, turning directly to reporters, the cameras rolling, he boasted "Mom we didn't get the shoes you wanted but we sure got a lot of good stuff."

The Village Voice, NYC

The other equally slandered anarchist step was the (temporary) abolition of commodification — the turning of human needs into purchasing needs, and of ordinary things into Products (complete with advertised powers and high prices). With the wave of a bat (or toss of a brick), like magic, goods became freely available to all, according to their needs and desires, with no need to trade one's precious time and abilities to some boss. Products became plain things the people needed again, on some level.

"Right now the failure of our families is hurting America deeply. When families fail, society falls. The anarchy and lack of structure in our inner cities is testament to how quickly civilization falls apart when the family foundation cracks."

Dan Quayle

A NARCHY!" THAT'S PROBABLY the term most used by the media and the government to describe what happened in Los Angeles and around the world following the Rodney King assault acquittal. Of course, the mainstream media meant it as slander — both of the people in the streets and of anarchy.

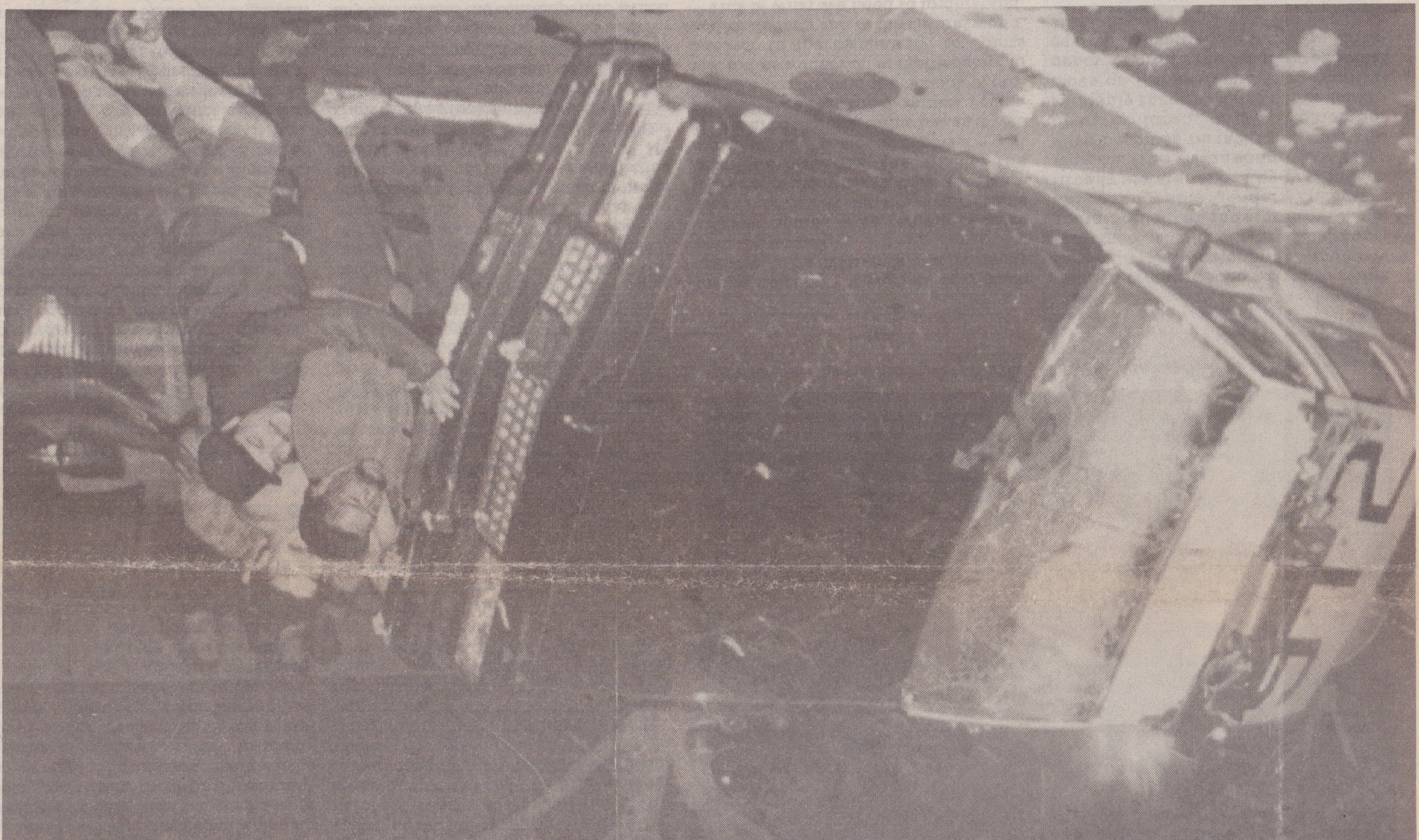
While anarchy wasn't achieved in Los Angeles (or anywhere else) some important, though limited and mostly negative, steps towards anarchy were made. Most important, in dozens of cities, over various areas of space and periods of time, the state was powerless: its cops had to run for their lives and the people

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Continued on page 10

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SECCION EN ESPAÑOL

JUNE 1992 \$1

LOVE AND RAGE

A REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST
NEWSMONTHLY



queers proud!
500 queers
of resistance
QUISP
queers do prisoner support
grand jury victory for
brian coan

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REVOLT:

the choice of a
new generation

